Quebec Nationalism: Its Roots and Meaning

(From a speech to American socialists in Oberlin, Mich, 1971)

Foreword:

Arthur Young (was at this time) the editor of *La Lutte Ouvrière* (Workers' Struggle), a revolutionary socialist paper published monthly in Montreal, and was a leader of the LSA/LSO. He was among the first wave of those arrested by the Canadian government when the sweeping War Measures Act was imposed on October 16, 1970. He was released without charges six days later.

This article is based on a talk given by the Young at a SWP conference in Oberlin, Ohio.

For many years the thinking of revolutionary socialists in Canada on the national question has been molded by the course of the Black liberation struggle in the United States and by the analysis the Socialist Workers Party has made in its writings on Black nationalism.

But I think now we're coming to a point when the Quebec struggle will be able to provide the American movement with examples and experiences. Perhaps it will indicate some of the developments ahead for the American national liberation struggles.

The main thing I want to explain here is the qualitative change that the struggle in Quebec has undergone in the last few years and some of the paths forward. The recent development of the mass struggle for national liberation through independence indicates that the Quebec revolution on the North American continent has come to the fore more than ever before. The revolution in Quebec will play a central role in the whole Canadian revolution. It may well be the vanguard of the Canadian revolution, coming in advance of English-speaking Canada.

To begin, I should mention some background information on Quebec. Those who live in Quebec are called the Québécois. There are about six million Québécois out of a population of some 21 million Canadians - about 30 percent of the Canadian population. They live in one geographical area, the province of Quebec, geographically a large proportion of the country.*(The author makes the point that Québécois "nation" is a large majority within Quebec a geographical fact constituting the original European inhabitants, "les habitants, les Canadiens;" however as is well known, a sizeable community in New Brunswick is "les Acadiens," and significant French-speaking communities exist in Manitoba and Northern Ontario as well -- Ed.*)

The Québécois have had a provincial government, roughly comparable to a state government in the U.S., for several hundred years. The Quebec government deals with many local and limited matters and its spokesmen are Québécois.

This has given the Quebec struggle some unique characteristics. In contrast with the Black struggle in the U.S., there is a well-defined area in which the Quebec nation lives and the proportion of the Québécois in the total Canadian population is much higher. So the Quebec struggle occupies a tremendous strategic position in the whole social struggle in Canada.

The first point to understand is that the Québécois form a nation. Very few people dispute this fact. In contrast to the Black nationality in the United States, the Québécois have all the classical characteristics of a nation which Lenin outlined - sharing a common language, common culture, common history, and a geographical entity which is their homeland. The Québécois consider themselves a nation,and have a well-developed national coniousness.

The second point is that Quebec is an oppressed nation. One of the aspects of this oppression is the wage level in Quebec, which is 20-30 percent lower than the wage level for comparable work in the rest of the country. Also unemployment rates are much higher than the Canadian average, in fact roughly double the unemployment rates of the neighboring province of Ontario, which is comparable to Quebec in many respects.

Another indication of this oppression can be seen in housing conditions. In a city which is composed of English and French-speaking inhabitants, the slums and the worst areas are all inhabited by the French-speaking Québécois. It shows up in other areas, such as inferior education, inferior facilities, etc.

In contrast to some of the stereotypes you may have learned in school, Quebec is a highly developed capitalist nation like the rest of Canada or the United States.

But at the same time, its economy is overwhelmingly dominated by foreign capital. Roughly 80 percent of the economy is in foreign hands, divided about equally between American investment and investment from English Canada. Investment is concentrated in extractive industries, industries related to processing the extracted resources, and industries which require an abundant supply of cheap labor.

It's a commonplace in Quebec that the bosses are English-speaking and the workers are French-speaking. Foreign capital has destroyed what possibility there was for a native national bourgeoisie to develop. There exists a very small national bourgeoisie, but it is completely tied to foreign capital and subservient to it. The Québécois form a pool of cheap labor, as you can see from the unemployment statistics and the wage rates.

Federal domination

In addition to the economic oppression, there is a specific form of political oppression and domination in Quebec. Under capitalism the Québécois do not have the right of self-determination; they don't have their own independent state. Canada is a federal state in which the key powers are controlled by the federal apparatus in Ottawa. The federal state, of course, has a federal army to back it up, and the Canadian bourgeoisie has not been reluctant to use it when necessary. The Québécois feel this domination in a political sense.

The basic powers are in Ottawa. So, while there is the illusion of having our own state, and while many Québécois regard the Quebec provincial government and its power as the first step towards having control over our own lives, still the existence of the political domination which was imposed by military conquest is a constant factor no one can forget.

In addition to these classical features of colonial oppression, there are several specific features I want to underline.

First of all, there is no land reform question to speak of in Quebec, in contrast to most colonial countries and oppressed nations. Capitalism has done its job well, and the percentage of the population engaged in farming has been drastically reduced. The proportion of the population devoted to agricultural production in Quebec is smaller than it is in the United States.

The proportion of workers in the Quebec population is between 75 and 80 percent. Obviously, the Quebec nation is proletarianized, and in addition there has been a tremendous urbanization. Quebec is one of the most urbanized nations in the world. Half of the nation — that is, half of six million people — lives in one metropolitan area, the area of Montreal, and most of the rest live in a scattering of smaller cities.

The working class in Quebec is Québécois, and it is substantially unionized. They have a long history and tradition of independent struggle. They continue to organize unorganized sectors of the population. The extent of unionization in Quebec is slightly higher than the rest of Canada and considerably higher than in the United States. So the working class not only is numerically a powerful force, but its organizations stand very strongly counterposed to the weakness of the national bourgeoisie.

The middle classes in Quebec have tended to play a somewhat exceptional role, through their control of the provincial state apparatus in Quebec. This position has given them a certain ability to maneuver, to put forward demagogic appeals, and to lead certain struggles. It has given the middle class a certain perspective, not of becoming big capitalists but of balancing between the Quebec working class and imperialism.

So the middle class has been very vocal, very outspoken, and sometimes has led aspects of the Quebec national struggle up to now.

What all of this means is that in Quebec the different roles played by the various classes have become evident at an early stage of the national liberation struggle.

A history of struggle

I want to mention the long history of national struggles in Quebec. In 1760 the Québécois were conquered; the French colony of New France was conquered by the British Army, and this began the period of national oppression. The British eventually granted formal political independence to Canada and merged Quebec into the rest of Canada in 1867.

But before they did that, in 1837, there was an armed uprising by the Quebec people. The Québécois attempted to gain independence and control of their national destiny. It failed and was crushed by force of arms, and that eliminated the possibility of an independent capitalist development in Quebec.

But the national struggle continued to erupt in different forms. In the two imperialist world wars, the Québécois overwhelmingly refused to fight. They recognized that the world wars were imperialist wars, waged by imperialist powers, and that the Québécois as an oppressed nation had nothing to gain by participating in these struggles. In fact, during World War II the federal government organized a referendum for or against conscription — in order to carry through their plans to impose conscription in Canada. The vote in

Quebec by the French-speaking Québécois was more than 90 percent against conscription for that imperialist war.

The conscription agents who came into Quebec were lynched. I mean quite literally lynched. You can see photos in the papers of the Canadian conscription agents hanging from trees. The Communist Party, which wholeheartedly supported the war effort and Canadian conscription, lost what support it had gained in Quebec.

I've tried to show with just these few examples that there has been a long history of struggles by the Québécois against what has been a consistent policy of the Canadian ruling class to submerge the identity of the Québécois into a sort of Canadian melting pot. Above all, the ruling class wants to eliminate the independent existence of a French-speaking people by eliminating their language.

Since World War II, in the last 25 years, a new nationalism has developed which is completely different from the previous nationalism. The new nationalism has some of the features of the old but it is a much deeper and more revolutionary nationalism.

Some of the features of this new nationalism include the development of the independent organizations of the Québécois working class and the growing nationalist struggles which began in the early 1960s and have developed into the current thrust towards independence for Quebec.

The central issue of the national struggle in Quebec is the language question. In Quebec the language question is like skin color in the United States — it identifies the Québécois as a nation — but it goes much deeper. It's a means of communicating, part of a personality and a national psychology. It's a means of discrimination, of course, on the part of the ruling class.

After the national rebellion in 1837, the British sent an investigating committee in to discover why the Québécois were discontented. The conclusion of the lord who came to study this question was that as long as the Québécois existed as a national minority within Canada there would be trouble; therefore the Québécois language and culture had to be wiped out. This official report, called the Durham Report, has been followed to one degree or another, consciously or implicitly, by the Canadian ruling class ever since. There has been a constant attempt to push the French language and the Québécois into an inferior status, so that the only way to get out is to learn the English language and abandon your national identity.

At the present time, language discrimination is the deepest felt form of national oppression. It unites everybody in Quebec, from all the various classes. Everybody is a victim of this discrimination. Even the bourgeoisie can't get ahead because it speaks another language, and is discriminated against.

In Quebec, where 83 percent of the population is French-speaking and only a minority of 17 percent speaks English as a first language, you must speak English if you want to get anywhere. Those who only speak French have the most menial jobs. I would imagine that it's similar to the situation in New York City for Puerto Ricans who have not learned English. They can only get the worst jobs, cleaning streets or cleaning toilets or something like that.

In Quebec, a nation that is 83 percent French-speaking, the same situation exists. You can't rise above the level of foreman without knowing English. All the offices function in English. Up to a few years ago you had to speak English in order to get served in many of the stores, even sometimes in

French-owned stores. And the federal government, officially the government of both the French- and English-speaking nations, conducts all its meetings and functions in English only. Even to be a policeman in Quebec you have to speak English.

So this is a profound form of discrimination and oppression. The language discrimination is a manifestation of foreign oppression from the United States and English-speaking Canada. In this way the foreign control of Quebec is directly revealed to the Québécois every day of their lives.

For the past 50 or 100 years the government didn't give a damn about this situation. If you were French-speaking, you stayed in your place, you did what you were told, you were a second-class citizen. Everybody more or less recognized this fact.

Bilingualism

But in recent years the government has tried to mollify the rising nationalist ferment with a policy of bilingualism. Canada is now officially a bilingual state. If you phone a federal government office in Vancouver, you're supposed to be able to speak French to the person at the desk, but it's a myth. This is an attempt to buy off and stem the struggle. It is a liberal answer to the rising national liberation struggle in Quebec.

The first thing to understand about this "bilingualism" is that the overwhelming majority of those who are bilingual in Canada are the Québécois, the French-speaking. The Québécois are only one-third of the population of Canada, and yet they are probably three-quarters of all the bilingual people in Canada, for the reason that in Quebec you have to speak English to get ahead.

You can't speak French outside of Quebec. The only place that is bilingual in all of Canada is Quebec, where 83 percent of the population speaks French, where the French-speaking people are an oppressed nationality, and where English is used in all the c imanuing heights of society. That's what bilingualism means in Canada. *(Today, only New Brunswick is officially "bilingual" -- as is the Federal civil service and sectors of Manitoba and Ontario with significant French-speaking populations -- Ed.)*

Bilingualism, in the current context in Quebec, serves as a cover for capitalism. The boss who is operating a factory in Quebec says to his workers, "Canada is a bilingual country. I can operate my factory either in French or in English. And since I speak English, and everybody down my chain of command speaks English, it's more efficient for me to run my factory in English. So you workers have to speak English." That is, the workers have to be bilingual. So bilingualism is just a cover for big business to go on operating in English.

Under capitalism the bosses have ! the right to run their factories as they please, and there is nothing preventing them from simply declaring themselves bilingual and then operating in English.

New factors

Several developments in the 1960s have brought this struggle to a head. One of them has been the new rise of revolutionary struggle around the world,

especially the struggle of the Vietnamese and the Black liberation struggle in the United States.

There's another factor. The process of Anglicization, of pushing back the French language, has been gaining ground in recent years. There is a very real threat that the French-speaking majority in Quebec will be completely wiped out in a period of time; that is, the majority will speak English. Concretely, this would mean the destruction of the Quebec nation. So the question of national existence has been posed that crudely.

What happens is that parents decide that their children should go to English schools instead of French schools, to help the child get ahead. The parents might speak English very poorly, but the child is brought up thoroughly Anglicized and often has difficulty speaking his native language. This has happened to hundreds of thousands of Québécois.

In addition, there is heavy immigration to Quebec, and all the immigrants opt for the language that puts them into the dominant national group: English. So gradually the majority is in the process of being overthrown.

One of the factors that perpetuated the existence of the Quebec nation in the face of these tendencies was a very high birth rate. The Québécois had a birth rate which demographers considered to be inexplicable, it was so high. However, in recent years the birth-control pill and the increasing freedom of women has had a tremendous impact, and the birth rate in Quebec has now sunk lower than in the rest of Canada. This is another factor which puts national genocide on the agenda.

Still another factor is that almost all the English-speaking Québécois are concentrated in Montreal, the heart of the nation. Right now 60 percent of the city is French and 40 percent is English. But the proportions are gradually shifting, and estimates are that by the end of this century Montreal will be a majority English. Then the process will be irreversible towards placing the Québécois in a minority position in their own nation.

These factors have led to the development of the massive struggles in the last few years around the demand to protect the French language. The demand is to eliminate the phony policy of bilingualism, to institute unilingualism, which means that in Quebec there should be one official language: French. Of course, English could be spoken by those who wished in private conversations, in their homes, etc., but French would be the sole official language of government, schools, business, factories, shops and on the streets.

Since the Québécois do not have a workers government and have no leverage against the huge foreign monopolies that control their lives, unilingualism is the only solution to the situation where the French language is pushed into an inferior status.

This demand *(for French unilingualism -- Ed.)* has given rise to mass struggles of unprecedented proportions, and, in my opinion, has the [5]support of the majority of the nation. The Communist Party and other tendencies in the radical movement rear up on their hind legs against this demand. They consider it "undemocratic." As liberals rather than revolutionaries, they see the rights of the English and the rights of the French equally. The French are oppressed, they say, therefore they should have equal rights with the English, but we shouldn't go overboard. So they have stood aside, constantly attacking the mass struggles for defense of the French language and the national status of the Québécois as implicitly fascist, antidemocratic, dictatorial, etc.

These so-called radical groups are not the only ones saying these things. They have the same position as the Canadian government. We in the Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière (LSO) have replied to the Communist Party and other groups that the main problem is not the rights of the English-speakers. The English-speaking Québécois form an outpost in Quebec of the oppressor nation, the rest of Canada. The main question is the position of the French-speaking people, the Québécois. We support the demand for unilingualism as one means of redressing the oppression of the Québécois. It is a just demand, because it is the beginning of the exercise of the right of self-determination, that is, the right to determine what will be the state language in your nation. Also, it is a demand that has proven its capacity to mobilize masses of the Quebec people in anticapitalist struggle. Unilingualism must be part of a transitional program for the liberation of Quebec.

New rise in national struggle

Since 1967 there has been a decisive rise in the national struggle in Quebec. You may have read about *(President of France General Charles)* de Gaulle's visit to Quebec in 1967, when, during his trip to Expo, he voiced the cry, "Vive le Québec libre" [Long live free Quebec]. The most important thing was not what he said but the way in which the Québécois responded to it.

Here was a figure of world importance who came to Quebec, deliberately thumbed his nose at the Canadian government, which was implementing the policy of bilingualism, and said, however demagogically, "I'm for a free Quebec," and there was a virtual outpouring of mass sentiment behind that cry. The nationalist movement had developed to such a point in Quebec that de Gaulle considered it politically profitable to utter those four words.

Since that time the developing national sentiment has become more and more clear. A year later, in the fall of 1968, the mass unilingual struggle broke out in a suburb of Montreal called Saint Leonard. The nationalists there elected a school board to control the local school, and a majority of the board was for unilingualism. The demand was for French-only schools.

During the election campaign the nationalists organized mass actions in the streets in this largely working-class suburb, and they waged a very efficient campaign to bring out the French Quebecois behind the unilingual candidates. It was remarkable that the unilingual candidates won a majority on the board, because in the suburb of Montreal the proportion of French speaking is only around 55 percent and there was a 45 percent Italian immigrant minority who were lined up 100 percent against the unilingual demand. So there was an almost total mobilization of the French community behind the demand for unilingualism, to stop the assimilation, to stop the national genocide.

Students were some of the most active people in the mass street actions, and at a crucial turning point in the struggle they moved in and occupied one of the schools. It was this occupation of the schools that symbolized the whole struggle and that broadcast the name of Saint Leonard across all of Quebec.

When that school was occupied, Saint Leonard became for other parts of Quebec a spark and a symbol of the struggle. It inspired the same kind of action across all of Quebec, mobilizing the community in the mass unilingual movement, centered around the question of the schools.

After the Saint Leonard victory, the provincial government moved in and tried to annul the elections by passing a law that you can't abolish English schools. The first time they tried to pass this law, a spontaneous mass movement broke out, and the government was forced to withdraw the law. But the English minority, reflecting the desires of imperialism, mobilized more efficiently and continued their pressure, and last year were able to force the government to reintroduce what was in essence the same law, called at this time Bill 63.

Bill 63

This law provoked the largest upsurge of protest that has ever occurred in Quebec since the conscription protests of World War II. This law provoked a movement which can only be compared in its scope and impact to what happened in the U. S. in May of this year after the invasion of Cambodia. Perhaps even bigger.

What Bill 63 did, in essence, was to enshrine in law the rights of the English to have an official school system, and for the first time it enshrined the policy of bilingualism in law.

The first to move against the law were the students. In October 1969, they occupied large numbers of schools and then took to the streets in daily protest marches of 10,000, 20,000 and 30,000. In the outlying cities in Quebec some of the schools were completely turned over to the struggle and the facilities used to mobilize students and others in protest.

The demonstrations grew from day to day, drawing new forces into the struggle. It was clear that the students were reflecting the feelings of the majority of the population. The response you would get from people in the streets or hanging out of windows was very favorable. Even some of the cops — who are very vicious in Quebec — would come up and congratulate the marchers, saying, "I'm with you, I'm a Québécois, and you're doing the right thing."

This mass protest against the government attempts to institutionalize English privileges flowed into the unions. All the three main union federations were deeply affected by the nationalist sentiment. The teachers union, which has 60,000 members in Quebec, came out officially for the struggle and sent a representative to the central struggle committee that was formed.

The official leadership of the second-largest trade-union federation, the Confederation of National Trade Unions, representing 200,000 members, first came out for the government, but then the ranks were able to overturn that decision.It also officially sent a representative to the struggle committee.

The other federation, the Quebec Federation of Labor, representing some 300,000 workers, tended to split, and the official position was a standoff.

Other organizations came into the struggle, nationalist organizations, cultural organizations. I saw a list of some 200 or 300 organizations opposed to this bill, including the Society for the Blind of Quebec, some society concerned with animals, all kinds of groups that do not usually take political stands. This gives you an indication of the depth of the movement.

The prime minister of Quebec went to dinner one day in a small town in the Eastern Township. Suddenly the population was upon him, picket signs appeared, and someone spat in the minister's face.

Demonstrations took place every day, building to a mass demonstration of 40,000 or 50,000 in front of the Quebec parliament to protest the law. Speakers were starting to say, "We represent the people, not those hundred jackasses inside this building. We represent the people, we have the majority. The government is a traitor to the nation for this law that they're putting forward."

But the union movement did not enter into action, and so despite the overwhelming opposition of the Quebec population, the government succeeded in imposing Bill 63. Nevertheless, the struggle was a forerunner of more massive struggles to come. *(See the "Quebec Series" on this website for journal articles in* Libération, Labor Challenge *and* Forward *on the drive to force the Parti Québéois in power to legislate a virtual unilinqualist policy -- Bill 101 -- against Federal government opposition and legal counter-measures -- Ed.)*

Independence

I want to go on to discuss the question of independence, but first it is important to recall that we are now at the point of the culmination of several struggles that have developed in recent years. In October 1968 there was a massive student revolt in which students occupied almost all the schools in Quebec above a junior high level for three weeks. We've had all sorts of nationalist demonstrations. So there has been the emergence of a mass student movement which, because of the national oppression, has generalized from its experiences more quickly than other students movements and posed the whole question of power in the society.

These struggles have had big repercussions in the working class too. The national struggle has given a cutting edge to all day-to-day class struggles in Quebec.

We have seen the development of more radical forms of working-class action. Sit-ins by workers, for instance, still only occur on an isolated basis, but they have occurred more and more often. There have been sit-ins for workers control. When a boss threatens to close a factory and move, workers have sat in. Sit-ins and occupations of the factories have occurred for other demands, and on a couple of occasions workers have organized armed defense guards.

The working class militancy has gone so deep that last year even the police force went out on strike, and there were millions of dollars worth of damage done when the people decided to do a little private expropriation.

Thus it has become clear that nationalism, far from being a diversion or some kind of middle-class movement, is in Quebec an expression of the desire of the working class to struggle; it serves to heighten class consciousness and is a powerful revolutionary factor in Quebec.

But we are also beginning to see that there has been a qualitative rise in the national struggle in the last few years. The tempo of development of social struggles has tended to diverge between English Canada and French Canada. The struggle in Quebec has assumed much more peculiar national forms.

The logical thrust of the struggles that have occurred in the past three or four years goes in the direction of independence for Quebec. The demand to have a national language and to eliminate the privileges of the English, for example, naturally flows in the direction of increasing the powers of the Quebec state government, eliminating the control of the federal government, and winning complete political independence.

Another factor has been the failure of the Canadian labor party, the New Democratic Party (NDP), to identify with and lead the national struggle in Quebec. A few years ago it appeared that this could be a possible development, but the course of the struggle has shown otherwise. The NDP has shown insensitivity and, in some cases, chauvinism toward the Quebec nationalist struggle. The NDP has no serious movement in Quebec at the present time and does not look like it will be a factor in the coming period *(Despite the fact that today --2014-- due to the severe crises of the federal parties of the Canadian bourgeoisie, the NDP finds itself boosted to the status of Official Opposition in Ottawa thanks to the election of no fewer than 58 mostly young Québécois MPs. But as of 2014 the Federal NDP has yet to establish a Quebec party wing! -- Ed).*

So the development of the struggle in Quebec is assuming new forms around the growing demand for independence. There is a very perceptive statement relating to this by George Breitman in his book *The Last Year of Malcolm X.* I don't have the exact words, but the essence of what he said was that there is a difference between nationalism and separatism, that at the present time the nationalism of the Black people in the U. S. has not yet taken a separatist course but it is not excluded that Black nationalism will take this course. He said if it turns out that the Black struggle does not take the separatist course, but another course, then this nationalism will not have been a fully developed, or classical nationalism. What we are seeing in Quebec is the development of nationalism to its classical conclusion, that is, the demand for independence.

The past elections in Quebec in April 1970 constituted, in essence, a referendum on the question of independence for Quebec. One party, the Parti Québécois (PQ), ran in the elections on a platform unequivocally for independence, and this posed the issue squarely. A considerable proportion of the Quebec working class mobilized in support of this position. The PQ won 23 percent of the vote *(In 1967, the PQ was elected government to l'Assemblée nationale -- Ed).*

Following this qualitative turn toward the direction of the demand for independence, it is the responsibility of revolutionaries not only to support the right of self-determination for Quebec but to support and participate in the national struggle, advancing the demand that is now the central demand of the nationalist movement and the working class: independence. *(Support by Leninist revolutionaries for the the cause of independence within the oppressed nation; support for self-determination for the oppressed nation accompagnied by a policy of federation of socialist states being the policy of Leninists within oppressing nations -Ed).*

Now, I'm not saying that I think there is an absolute majority of the Quebec population in favor of independence, or even that this is the majority position among the working class. The point is that there has been a qualitative turn toward the direction of independence. Independence is the logical thrust of the struggles that have been taking place. And now a decisive sector of the working class favors independence, including the young workers, plus the youth and the students in general. These elements in the working class and in the population as a whole are the determining forces who are going to lead the struggles in the next period.

The demand for independence expresses a desire for full national liberation. What the French-speaking people are saying when they demand Quebec independence is *(that they have)* the right to control their own lives. They want an end to oppression, and the most direct forms of oppression are first of all the language discrimination, and secondly the political domination by another nation, the English Canadian nation, through the federal state.

In this demand the Quebec people are saying they distrust and want an end to the existing political structure. What that implies is a distrust and opposition to the social relations that the existing political structure supports and enforces. That's what's involved in the dynamic of the struggle for independence by an oppressed nation, and that's why we consider that the Québécois have chosen a profoundly revolutionary path.

The LSO fully supports and participates in the struggle for independence. We do not, however, in any way support the Parti Québécois, which is a capitalist party oriented toward compromise with imperialism. It is incapable of leading a struggle for independence and should be seen as an expression of mass pressure and mass sentiment for independence, a party which could break up under the pressure of the developing mass movement in Quebec. For instance, the PQ will have to face and deal with the union movement, the organized Quebec working class, which has been drawn into the PQ temporarily because there is no other nationalist or socialist alternative at this stage.

So we think it would be a big mistake for socialists or nationalists to support the PQ. We will be participating in, and building mass struggles outside the PQ. In the course of the struggle, the inadequacy of the PQ, its bourgeois character, and its orientation toward and its compromise with imperialism will become clear.

We are for national liberation, a workers and farmers government, and nationalization of the giant foreign monopolies that control Quebec. We will continue our work in building a mass liberation movement, building demonstrations in the streets around the language issue and other issues. We will continue to advance the concept that Quebec workers should form their own independent party, a labor party, which could fight a consistent, uncompromising struggle for independence and also for socialism *(in conjunction with the establishment of the only party which can win genuine sovereignty, a Québécois revolutionary Marxist party, of course -- Eb).*